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Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and, to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistán.) Other money crops of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martín; it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal communities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

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The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivacá;[19] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[20] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivacá by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[21] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity.

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets, and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajón,[22] were not reported by Villa.

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalón, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[19] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:343-345.
[20] *Ibid.*, 2:383.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2:344.
[22] *Ibid.*, 2:345-349.

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352 utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*chá*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs 415 (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline 251 boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

343 Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to [417] see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal •[184] is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ococingo northward.

29 Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in 184 the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chukkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*); women wear a white blouse (*kú*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*zitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable [177] garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

551 In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says, 582 "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still pre- 114 served." [25] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say, "there are no formal restrictions on marriage." [26]

582 Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, 551 and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[184] [23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another; those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another; here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1902, p. 73. [26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.

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a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine have their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved."

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow:

CHANAL: Yemuc (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chicó, Cories, Comistal.
TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hoviltzil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Lobal (banana), Ton (stone).
CANCUC: Oxom, Say, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.
OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each *pueblo* (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal;* the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *catinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

" Among the Lacandons there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1936); it is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), " . . . the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. . . . Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 46). Landa also says (Section XXV), " . . . nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known: one indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na-. The Maya called the latter the *naal*, and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names" (Roys, 1934, p. 166).

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and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón, by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomás and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[28] Apparently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

The book is called *cañualtic* 'Our Master.' The ceremony of transfer of this sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[29] or supplements that account, and therefore may be summarized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[28] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:387

[29] *Ibid.*, 2:358–359

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carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance, in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute (*āhmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be represented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken from the church; the other, called *debo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo in religious processions.[34] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly between the two calpules; on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priora*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull, and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints; it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citalá a principal annual event is the ritual washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[35] Villa's notes do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[36] The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuales;* this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.[37]

[34] This usage corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one, the cruz *hadora*, is moved about in ritual.

[35] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:362–374.

[36] Nuñez de la Vega (1702, p. 9) says, "Los de Oxchuc y de otros pueblos de los Llanos veneran mucho al (ídolo) que llaman Icalahau, que quiere decir negro principal, o señor de negros," as quoted in Becerra, 1933, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

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by Blom and LaFarge.[37] At Tenejapa and again at Guaquitepec, Villa met persons terrified by fears of witchcraft; it is apparent that the subject is important throughout the region. The word for witch is *agchamel*, and the phrase used is to the effect that the witch "eats" his victim. Villa understood this to refer to the belief that a person's soul may be lured away from his body, a notion consistent with facts reported by Blom and LaFarge.[38]

Villa's notes establish the fact that the nineteen-month pagan calendar is in current use in the highlands, at least in Chanal, Cancuc, and Oxchuc. In 1702 Nuñez de la Vega[39] published the names of twenty days of the month; these have apparently not been reported since. In 1845 Emeterio Pineda[40] gave for the first time (but for the Tzotzils) the names of the months, omitting only the name *chayquin* for the five-day period. In 1888 Vicente Pineda[41] furnished a complete list of the months for the Tzeltals. Villa was informed that the month *Yaxkin* ended in November so that the new year would begin in the second week of January. Starr[42] says that the first twenty-day period (*Tzin*) begins January 1. Becerra[43] says that the year should begin with the winter solstice. However, he gives, based on information received from the Indians themselves, a table[44] correlating the variations from village to village; thus, the month *Batzul*, first of the year, begins in Oxchuc on January 1, in Cancuc on the second and in Tenejapa on the third. Furthermore, according to this author, there is a marked difference between the correlation followed by the Tzeltals and that followed by the Tzotzils; thus the month *Olalti*[45] begins among the Tzeltals on March 27 and among the Tzotzils on April 12. The list of months Villa secured differs from both Starr's and Pineda's list, but agrees with that of Becerra.

Batzul	(Time of harvest)
Zakilab	(Clearing the milpa begins)
Agelchac	(The clearing continues)
Mac	(Time of sowing)
Olalti	(Time of sowing)
Jul-ol	(Time of sowing)
Uec-cachaquin	(No work)
Joquen-ahau	(Time of sowing in the tierra caliente)
Chin-uch	(Time of weeding)
Mucul-uch	(Time of weeding)
Juc-uinquil	(Time of resting)
Uac-uinquil	?
Jo-uinquil	?
Chan-uinquil	?
Ox-uinquil	?
Pom (Octubre)	(When the new ear forms)
Yax-kin (termina con Noviembre)	?
Mux	?
Tzun	?

[37] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369–371.
[38] *Ibid.*, 2:371.
[39] Nuñez de la Vega, 1702.
[40] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 111.
[41] Vicente Pineda, 1888, pp. 130–131.
[42] Starr, 1908, p. 177.
[43] Becerra, 1933, p. 50.
[44] *Ibid.*, Table 8.
[45] *Ibid.*, Table 10.

Their slender-
147 ness is deceptive, for their great strength lies
[482] in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without
142 undue fatigue . . . Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed, is negative.

143 As many as 99.56 per cent of Tzeltal belong to blood type O, which is one of the highest frequencies registered in the Ma-
143 yance area. According to Matson and Swan-
144 son (1959, p. 50), "In general the more isolated peoples such as the Lacandon, Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Cakchiquel show the highest frequency of the O gene." This condition is attributed to the absence of racial mixture.

Cultural Configuration

621 Like the Indians in the highlands of Gua-
[171] temala (Tax, 1937), the Tzeltal group themselves in communities which are distinct social and cultural units, as is characteristic
621 of the tribe. Each community has its well-
184 defined lands, its own dialect forms, wearing apparel, kinship system, politico-religious organization, economic resources, crafts, and other cultural features. Any native of the region finds it easy to identify the origin of other Indians by noting their speech, wearing apparel, or the goods they
621 sell. Solidarity between the members of each community is strong and becomes manifest in times of conflict with outside groups or in their way of gathering according to their "nationality" on fiestas or market days when people of other communities attend. On the other hand, no ethnic solidar-
[628] ity whatsoever exists. Each community restricts itself to its own affairs and nothing else; whatever happens to the other Tzeltal communities is something altogether apart.
621 The territorial limits of these communi-
632 ties do not always coincide with those of
[171] the municipalities, as in Guatemala. Various well-defined communities exist (in the terms described above) which belong to

[P. 197-A]

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the [462] barn. This is an easy task, in which men, [857] women, and children take part.

[592] The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was [251] scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised [804] structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five [261] members which manages to harvest from [231] 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens.

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cul-
● 184 tivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 The most important ceremonies take
796 place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the [778] prayers. The ceremonies consist in offer-[782] ings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the

241 *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is
782 made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague no-
[825] tions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zarigueya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals.
241 All objects are minute in size. When the
782 offering achieves its purpose, on the com-
787 pletion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 Another mukul-mixa is performed in Ox-
796 chuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau,
[184] near the ceremonial center, of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchueqeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Icalajau, which means principal Negro or
[789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 Once the crop is in the granary other
78 family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 Other food resources include raising
235 chickens and pigs. A family averages about
[231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
[437] [P. 202-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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283 413 the ground. This disc has two hooks to which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from iron pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

407 [177] The most complex machine that the Tzeltal own and build is the wooden cane press, which was imported by the Spaniards to grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is operated by two men, who move the rollers by a handle (*kabal-té*) at each end of the [415] machine. The juice pressed out by the rollers drops into fluted containers made of pieces 273 of banana tree, and finally into a pot. This juice is used in the preparation of an alcoholic beverage, *chicha* (*chi-ja*, 'sweet water'), and for panela. Chicha is prepared by [415] fermenting this juice by bran, corn, or wheat, in a special container (*canoja*) made from a fluted tree trunk. The bran or other fermenting agent is *smé-chi-já* ('mother of [184] the chicha'). Some communities (Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc) have greater preference for this beverage than other Tzeltal groups.

224 411 [412] A gun has become very common in hunting. Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa) rabbits are taken by striking them with a coa, after cornering them with the aid of dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352) state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually hunt wild boar with long wooden spears with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous. The usual set consists of clay containers of varying size and shape, jicaras, baskets, wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks, and wooden tripods for hanging items over 177 404 415 the fire. In the last few years metal pots, dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and especially handy *nixtamal* mills (which are gradually displacing the grinding stone) 177 207 405 412 416 have been introduced. Other items that come from the city are flashlights, small kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (infrequently) battery radios.

[P 206-B]

Handcrafts

323 [462] Among the few handcrafts practiced in the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly by women, is the most widespread. Tenango [184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only communities which have made a specialty of this craft. Tenango exports its products [439] through the northern zone, Amatenango through the southern zone, including neighboring Guatemalan villages. Both places use 323 184 a similar ceramic technique but different shape and ornamentation. Referring to Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape; a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them until they are done. These pots are carried by [438] [439] the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 286 [438] Another widespread craft is spinning and weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village in the Tzeltal area trades these products because production barely meets their family needs. The backstrap loom of pre-Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

[184] Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to gather the harvest or carry loads—are mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc. 322 184 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manufactured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are predominantly square with thatched roofs. The walls are wattle-and-daub or plain tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of [354] hardened earth. The houses only have one door and no windows, except in some vil-

[P. 207-A]

342 [354] lages of the lowlands where the houses have small windows, which improve ventilation and illumination slightly. In places like 342 184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the reception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn. Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

[574] [323] [251] [343]

343 515 Among the auxiliary structures outside is the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath. Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is not only for cleanliness but also for the cure of certain diseases and to strengthen women after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

[184] [757] [846]

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matz-malté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and

415

[P. 207-B]

415 containers made of jícara (*boch*) or tecomate (*tzu*). In the bedroom is a bed
352 (*uaybal*) made of boards placed on four
[513] forked poles, usually with a sleeping mat
[735] on it. Only the very poor sleep on mats on the floor. Small chairs, wooden chests for
[415] clothes, baskets of all shapes and sizes, pita bags and nets, shelves made of wood ribs, and pegs for hanging clothes are scattered around the hut without order.

353 The most important article is the altar
798 with the family cross. Its construction varies in different areas: it may be a plain small table made of tree trunks or better material. The altar is generally ornamented with pine needles. Occasionally, the figure of a saint is placed by the cross.

Clothing and Ornaments

291 Each community has its own style of
● 184 clothing, which gives a sense of unity to its members and permits the observer to identify easily the groups during fiestas or market days. This variety applies only to a few items of clothing, which is basically the
291 same for the entire region. Men's costume consists of short pants (*uesh*) and a long shirt (*nátil-ku*) which reaches the knee, both made of cloth that women weave; a red sash or belt (*chuj-chut*) of cotton, 10–15 cm. wide by 1.5 m. long; a palm hat (*pishol*); and leather sandals (*shanabil*). Residents of cold areas wear a woolen chamarra which is manufactured by the Chamulas. Women's costume consists of a skirt made of wool (*tzek*) or blue thick cloth, made in one piece and wrapped around the body with two pleats in front; it is belted at the waist by a red wool sash, which the Chamulas manufacture. Occasionally, they
301 wear a wool rebozo. They tie their hair with a red woolen ribbon (*malal*) and wear earrings (*yulel-chikinil*) and glass necklaces
291 (*ual*) bought in the city. Women always go barefoot, even during long trips. When outdoors they cover their heads with a cloth or wool fabric.

[184] Each municipio has made of these clothes

[P.208-A]

291 a typical outfit with special characteristics.
184 For instance, the men of Tenejapa wear a hat of broad brim and pointed round crown, trimmed with thin ribbons of different colors. They also wear a dark chamarra or poncho with thin white stripes. The characteristic clothes of Cancuc are short, tight pants and a long shirt trimmed with red wool yarn. In Tierra Caliente the wool chamarra is not used nor is the variation in outfit so well defined.

Transportation

492 Men and pack animals are the principal
[484] carriers in the Tzeltal region, which is
[487] crossed in all directions by narrow trails.
[492] Men carrying loads of 40–50 kg. usually
482 walk, in one day, as far as 8 leguas
147 (leagues). According to Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:386), the Tzeltal of the highlands are so strong "que ponen en vergüenza a una mula." In 1944 I observed Indians
[565] passing by my Yochib camp, carrying chairs on their shoulders, in which a lady or a child of upper-class Ladinos from Ocosingo
492 and Yajalon would be sitting. Pack animals are now becoming common among the Tzeltal, some of whom also have saddle horses.
491 Part of the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region is crossed by the Pan-American Highway joining Guatemala and Mexico City. In recent years, roads called "brechas de penetración" for motor vehicles are being constructed.
474 The natives of some communities (Oxchuc
493 and Chanal) have organized cooperatives and purchased their own trucks.

804 *Units of Measure*

The system of measures still retains aboriginal characteristics. The main units are:

Nab: Distance between the end of the thumb and the middle finger extended.

Chutub: Distance between the end of the thumb and the index finger extended. It is equivalent to the jeme. The Indians do not use the cuarta (distance between the thumb and little finger extended).

[P 208-B]

423 592 [184] In the most acculturated communities (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1990, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father de-
> [428] cides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before.

[613] [593] At this level the lineage concept has disappeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 586 Family land as well as the house and its equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but

[P 212-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

556 829 183 know, with the aid of the *naguales* (supernatural spirits), about the wealth each member of the group has; those who have more than necessary must pay for the expenses of fiestas, etc.

Social Organization

Kinship

614 613 The basic elements of the clan system of the ancient Maya can still be found in the most conservative groups. At the present time, the kinship system is divided into patrilineal clans, which are divided into [199] patrilineages. In some cases, the name of the clan is of Spanish origin; the name of the lineage, of indigenous origin. In Oxchuc there are six clans whose names are: Gómez, Santis, López, Méndez, Encines, and Rodríguez. The first two clans are the largest, since the Gómez clan has 37 lineages, the Santis 39. The last two are almost disappearing as they have only one or two lineages. Among the indigenous names for lineages are: Ichilok, Nimail, Akux, Cojton, Chic, Molox, Nich, Antun, Chisná, Tib, and Mulesh. These designate names of animals, plants, or objects.

A man whose name is Juan Gómez Nich, for example, belongs to the Gómez clan and to the Nich lineage. Generally, the name of the lineage is enough to show to which clan somebody belongs; if his name is Juan Nich, it is immediately known that he is from the Gómez clan. This special characteristic of the indigenous name is designated by the word *Jol s'bij*, which means 'head of the name.'

• [184] In Cancuc (a community next to Oxchuc) clans have special names, such as Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. If the indigenous name is known, the clan name is self-evident. The Spanish name has lost its specific function, and, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, pp. 4–5), there are Indians who do not even remember it. However, the Spanish surname designates exogamic units of a patrilineal type throughout the region; without

[P. 213-B]

[Text continues on p. 214-B]

583 procedures (*trámites*) of church and civil
584 registry. The traditional marriage is an arrangement between two families. The young man's parents, with his agreement, select the bride and start the visits leading to the [574] petition. The visits to the girl's house must [203] be made at dawn, accompanied by two or three bottles of aguardiente. These visits continue for several months, because the girl's parents want to consult the old men or the most important members of the patrilineal clan.

585 The wedding itself is simple, a family ritual concerning the boy's parents, the girl's parents, and old men of the clan she belongs to. Now the boy appears for the first time, bringing articles that will "warm up" the fiesta (Villa Rojas, 1949):

1 garrafón (about 18 liters) of aguardiente
80 cooked eggs
80 tortillas
80 tamales of the *chenkul-uaj type* (corn and bean dough)
10 kilos of pozole with chile
10 kilos of pozole without chile
1 kilo of ground chile
1 almud (4 kilos) of beans

According to my informants from Oxchuc, these items represent what the girl's parents have spent for her during childhood. [574] This marriage feast is called *beybal-ja* ('the first delivery of aguardiente').

585 614 These items are presented with the greatest formality to the girl's clan in oral forms that symbolize the wish for everlasting friendship between both families. The oldest member of the girl's clan responds by expressing on behalf of all members their satisfaction in receiving those articles and their good wishes for a successful union. Immediately, the couple kneels on a petate and listens to the oldest member of the clan, who formally announces they are married and recites the duties and obligations of each.

584 184 Until recently in Cancuc the custom obtained of making these marriage arrange-
[P 217-B]

584 ments through a special person (*chunel*)
•[184] for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 After the first year of marriage, if the
583 couple get along together, the man must
574 make a present of two garrafones of aguar-
[273] diente and the same petitionary items of
[614] food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called
[888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of
[273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they
586 should have drunk. On the other hand, if the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 Finally, to bring all these duties to an
574 [P. 218-A]

584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [177] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "embrace" the child. The padrino is then invited 574 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future [431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and much aguardiente are consumed. Among 184 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to 431 736 [P 219-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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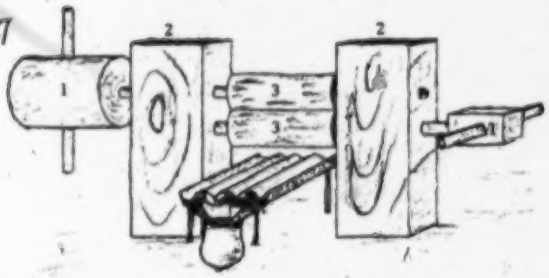

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

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182

their godchild nor protect him if he becomes orphaned, but this is only because closer members of the same lineage take care of him. But the padrinos must attend the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial when the godchild dies, as is expected from the godchild when the godparents die. In these communities, compadrazgo constitutes both an important religious obligation and a means of establishing friendship and cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

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631
[184]
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[563]

The political and religious patern is the same throughout all the Tzeltal communities, governed by two groups of authorities whose activities are interrelated. The first group, formed by members of the cabildo and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs of the community. The ayuntamiento maintains relationship between the local government and the national authorities. The presidente municipal and the intermediate authorities are popularly elected and then confirmed by the congress of the state. These authorities must represent both ethnic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to warrant the claim that "justice is equal for everybody." In 1936 the state government ruled that in all municipios where the indigenous population predominates, the presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P. 219-B]

795 In most of the prayers, Dios Tatik Jesu-
782 cristo and the 13 *fiadores* who are in heaven are mentioned. These 13 fiadores are God's immediate helpers and correspond to the
[778] Christian saints. The cross is venerated as a representation of God wherever a prayer is said and so appears on the family altar, on mountaintops, in caves, at fountains, at entrances to the town, at the four corners of the plaza, and in front of the church.

795 The local character of Catholicism is seen
778 in the Masses offered to the mountain called
776 Ikal Ajau, near the ceremonial center of
177 Oxchuc. The Indians say that it is a "living mountain" and give it great reverence, for Ikal Ajau was the name of the idol venerated by Oxchuc people in pre-Hispanic
795 times. In almost all the municipios the
184 saints are dressed as Indians. Towns with a
776 large Ladino population have different saints for the Ladinos, who are dressed as Ladinos and to whom the Indians are completely indifferent, even to forgetting the names of them.

Fiesta for the Patron Saint

796 One of the major events in the religious
794 life of the Indians is the annual fiesta in honor of the patron saint and the other saints kept in the church. The capitán principal and some of his immediate assistants are in charge of the organization and expenses of these fiestas. The length and cost
[435] of the fiesta correspond to the importance of the saint and range from one day and 100 pesos to four days and several thousand pesos, like the one for the patron saint. To become a capitán principal a man must go through all the ranks and be able to afford the expenses of any fiesta, from a small one to the very large ones of the patrons.

796 The fiesta of the patron of each village is similar to that for any other saint but larger. There are Masses and other religious observances in the church, processions with the image of the saint along the main streets, large meals at the house of the cargoholders, and, above all, constant drink-

[P 221-B]

[Text continues on p. 222-B]

753 776 [794] [888] [613] thunder, wind, or lightning. All the men who occupy or have occupied cargos in the political or religious organization are supposed to have a nagual, as do the older members of the lineage. They consider it their duty to punish those members of the group who have sinned and use their nagual, who can devour the soul of the victim little by little.

774 776 According to this idea, everybody has two souls: one which can be eaten by the naguales, and one which follows the destiny that its patron saint has planned for it. 761 775 776 When death comes, the naguales take away the first soul and have a banquet up in the mountains. In this feast, the naguales of the old people of the clan participate, joined by others induced to comradeship.

761 773 776 It is a widespread belief that at midyear the naguales go to a place in heaven called Atimaltik, where an old man who possesses the Book of Life lives. Since in this book he keeps account of the time each person can live, it is a source of information for the naguales, who thus can know who is close to death. When the signature of a person disappears from the book, this means that the person died.

764 People have to keep watch over the body for two days and two nights. It is placed on a wooden plank in the middle of the house after being washed or just given a change of clothes. Two candles are placed at the head. At night friends and neighbors come to keep company with the family. They play harp and guitar and drink chicha and aguardiente. At dawn, the men go home and the women remain crying near the corpse.

[613] Following the ancient custom, the dead are buried near the graves of other men of [184] the same lineage. In Cancuc, however, dead are buried inside the house.

The bottom and sides of the grave are covered with slabs to form a coffin. The corpse, bundled up in a petate, is placed inside. His clothes and other articles he may

[P. 224-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

Fig. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

In their culture these people belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the staple crop. Calabashes, melons, beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but always made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most amazing industries in the world.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

tume. The men's shirt is more of a tunic, home woven, without cuffs, collar, or buttons, with a V-neck, and much longer. It may be tucked in under the trousers or worn outside, with the sash over all. Their trousers are sometimes wrapped at the ankles with tape. On the haciendas, a great deal of ordinary European clothing, bought at the local stores, is worn.

The women's dress does not differ from the Bachajon, save for a coarse red sash with yellow stripes, which comes from Comitan.

Houses, *na'*, are of two kinds, the normal, highland type found in Ocosingo Valley and in Bachajon Village itself, and a palm-roofed variant, not unlike the houses of the lowlands, found among the Bachajon in the jungle region (fig. 287).

FIG. 286—El Encanto, Chis. Bark Sandals.

The roof of the normal type, made of a grass thatch laid on in overlapping bundles to a thickness of about twenty centimeters, is called *winikak*. It stands independently of the walls, being supported on cross-beams laid from the main uprights, *kuk'up*. A hip roof is always used for a true dwelling. Often the building is under-cut at one end, so that a small porch is made, on which the door opens.

The walls, *p'ahk*, are of upright sticks stuck in the ground and lashed with lianas, standing without support, separate from the frame. Usually they are thinly plastered with mud. The manner of building the frame itself is described below.

Those of the Bachajon living in the close jungle, where grass is not available, thatch their roofs with palm, when they are called *can*. The leaves are usually of the *chiapai*, *tcyapai*, or *chichon*, *ak'te*. Banana leaves are sometimes used for temporary structures, but fray too readily. Owing to the warmer climate, the walls are not plastered, and often part of the house is un-walled. Usually the porch is omitted. A careful study was made of a house of this type about half a mile from the Finca Encanto, which was a good example save that, being in an open space where grass was plentiful, it was grass thatched.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

121 This thesis is an introduction to the ethnography of drinking in Aguacatenango, a Mayan-speaking community in Chiapas. It displays in some detail the roles and the circumstances of drinking performances there, and it examines some of the ways in which drinking performances reflect the more general beliefs and habitual actions of the people of the community.

*273 183 The drinking of beverage alcohol is a highly frequent, well-patterned part of life in most of the Chiapas highland Indian communities, the only known exceptions being some of the *273 • 184 [114] protestant enclaves in Oxchuk and environs (Slocum 1956). While detailed references to drinking performances are scarce, it has been determined that variations on the patterns to be described for Aguacatenango are likely to be found at least in Amatenango (Nash 1960); Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes 1946); Chamula (Bunzel 1940, Pozas 1959); Chenalhó (Guiteras-Holmes 1961); Huistan (Miller 1958); Oxchuc (Castro 1959, 1962; Siverts 1960; Slocum 1956; Villa-Rojas 1946); Tenejapa (Metzger and Williams 1963);

273* 184 Tzinacantan (Laughlin 1962). Many more of the Indian communities could be added to this list.

273* 171 In a more general way, the drinking patterns found in Chiapas highlands are observed throughout much of the aboriginal new world. Thus Cooper (1946: 544) says:

> In some regions, particularly the Andean and parts of the forested lowlands, fermented beverages are drunk as a common everyday beverage. Most of the drinking, however, throughout the great brewing area of the West Indies, Middle America and continental South America is in connection with drinking sprees, of a social and/or magicoreligious nature in which groups participate. These drinking bouts are main or attendant features of gatherings of all kinds, especially in connection with hunting, fishing, harvesting, and other food-getting activities, with visiting and hospitality to guests, with war, victory, and peacetime councils, with births, naming, initiations, weddings, and funerals, and with magico-religious festivals, rites, and celebrations--the specific occasions differing from tribe to tribe and from area to area. The sprees may last from a few hours up to many days, usually until all the available liquid is exhausted. The participants imbibe until they reach various stages of intoxication, from mild tipsiness to complete alcoholic coma. Among nearly all people on whom we have information, the bouts are accompanied by and end in the airing of grudges and hurling of insults, which lead to quarrels and fighting, more or less violent and not uncommonly fatal. Sex intrigues and orgies are equally common accompaniments.

121 273* While some of the general characteristics of drinking are known for the New World, detailed ethnographic descriptions are rather rare, causing Cooper (1946), Heath (1962), Simmons (1962), and Washburne (1961), among others, to suggest that more attention needs to be paid to this type of study. The descriptions of drinking performances which have been published on the aboriginal populations of the New World are perceptive if overly brief.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER V

SUMMING THE MATTER UP

273* 554 There are basically two patterns of drinking among the Aguacatenangueros. The first of these we may define as the internally complex unit ± ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking (but at least one of these). The second of these we will define as intermittent non-cumulative drinking--that is, drinking performances which do not lead to deep drunkenness. These two patterns of drinking performances are associated with large classes of the population. The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is expressed by married males. The intermittent non-cumulative drinking pattern is expressed by all other persons (unmarried males and all females).[1] When individuals drink, they are constrained to express one pattern or the other as is congruent with their role. By drinking in a particular way, an individual certifies his membership in a particular role class.

273* 591 885 Adult males (equivalent to males married at least once) drink within the limitations of the ceremonial drinking ± in-

[184] [171]

[1]This particular contrast is not general to all Tzeltal-Tzotzil speakers in the Chiapas highlands.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

The Motivation to Produce

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle
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tional economy and polity at a more rapid pace than has ever occurred in the past. Typical of this new movement is the recently established ejido of Brindis, formed by a core of landless Indians from the town working with acculturated Indians from Teopisca. Whether the political unity which has developed in the course of establishing their claim to the land will continue to provide a base for community development will depend on the encouragement and support by national institutions.

Within Indian communities of highland Chiapas, the ejido program has weakened age-authority principles in the family and in the civil hierarchy (Day n.d., Edel n.d.). Sons are no longer primarily dependent on their fathers for acquiring economic independence. Ejido Commission leaders have broken the monopoly of power by a gerontocracy of principales. Outside of the community, however, the political and economic potential of the ejido has not yet been fully realized. As the new ejidos such as Brindis develop, they may break the old community boundaries that contained and limited the power of the ejidatarios. With rising literacy, many Indians now read the *Codigo Agraria* sold in neighboring markets, and they are increasingly conscious of their rights. If unity across township boundaries could be achieved, the new ejidos might become an effective political force in regional and national spheres.

Wage Labor and Occupational Specialties

The agriculturalists of the community do work as both exchange and paid laborers in the following forms: reciprocal exchange, part time labor and part-time independent agricultural work, and forestry.[1] Wage work is considered only a supplement to independent self-employment for all but twenty agricultural employees who work full-time on a finca within the township.

Payments for agricultural labor within the community are lower than the prevailing rate outside of the town and are higher in the fincas of hot country than in the highlands. When men work on the fincas of landowners in the neighboring township, they prefer payment by the task (*tarea*) rather than by the day, since they can usually complete two tareas by

1. See Richard N. Adams (1964:48) for a discussion of the forms of rural labor.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

"Is there food for it?" asked his mother.

"I am going to plant a milpa to feed the little pig. You stay here and watch the little pig and I will go."

"Yes, I will care for it," said his mother.

K'oł went to plant his milpa. As he was leaving, he said to his mother, "I will return in the afternoon."

His mother said, "I shall await you in the afternoon."

When K'oł returned, his mother asked, "How is your milpa?"

He replied, "It isn't ready. Tomorrow I am going to burn it because it is just a forest."

The next day, K'oł returned to his milpa. Everything he had cut had grown back in his milpa. He asked himself, "How did it spring up? I am going to wait and see who is causing the trouble." He waited and saw a bird entering the milpa. The bird said, "I don't want to have the woods burned!"

K'oł said, "I am going to start the fire."

He started the fire, and then he said, "I am going to where the day meets the heaven." He picked up the fire of his milpa, saying, "My brother does not know how to walk. I am going to walk around and return."

Now the day walks in front and the night walks behind.[2]

The story has an aftermath which describes the continuing relationship between the Lord Sun, K'oł, and his mother, Our Grandmother the Moon.

The Lord Sun sees all of our sins and puts them in a book. If anyone has sexual relations in the milpa, he puts it down. When he sees this, he gets angry because he walks alone. He wants to end the world since he does not endure our sins. But Our Grandmother the Moon does not want

2. There are other versions of this story in neighboring Tzeltal-speaking communities. Castro (1959:24-31) gives an Oxchuk version in which the identification of the three brothers with the Christian Trinity is not made. Šut, the vocative term used in the Tzo^{o}-ontahal version, is given as the name of the youngest brother, who succeeded in giving a new sun to the world. But in outwitting his brothers with the honey, Šut killed them rather than turning them into pigs. A Chol version (Whittaker and Warkentin 1965) is closer to that of Oxchuk.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

554 the status. Community integration is achieved at the expense of limiting the range of roles through restricted recruitment and validating mechanisms.

621 794 [182] *Alternation and linkage in office-holding.* The principle of alternation between civil and religious posts serves to integrate these officers in a single functioning system and prevents the development of segmented groups. The alternation of offices between sides of the dual divisions helps to integrate the village by pairing or alternating them in the same office. Some roles served as links between the institutional domaines. Principales are the primary symbolic leaders of both hierarchies since they are chosen from among men who have completed service in both hierarchies. The alfereces formerly symbolized the unity of the civil and religious branches in the transfer of banners from the cabildo to the church and in other ceremonial duties.

621 624 794 [692] [84] The regidores and judges have remained identified with the civil authority in Tzoʔontahal, although in other towns in the area they have become almost exclusively identified with the religious hierarchy (Cancian 1965). The regidores were formerly involved in religious affairs during the household celebration for the installation of the new alférez. At this time they were called personaetik from the Spanish term persona, or personage.

731 756 178 621 Events requiring community action reveal some of the links which unite officials who play roles in different institutional settings. On the occasion of an epidemic, curers are called before the civil authority to "give an account" of who is causing the witchcraft. Formerly the curers were linked to the civil hierarchy by a system of social control in which the principales, as elders, reviewed their actions in guarding the safety and health of the community. This system of checks and balance has been broken by the shift in power from the principales to the president.

794 621 182 The nakawanehetik provide the links between the household and the civil and religious hierarchies. They transmit the knowledge of ritual prayer and acts and officiate at the inauguration of officials. They serve as stage directors in maintaining the traditional household rituals and in ensuring continuity in public ceremonials.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
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CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

Introduction

128 For the purpose of describing the social structure of the two communities compared on this paper, they will be treated at two levels. The level of the macro-structure contains the total community and the community territorial divisions (the barrios); the micro-structural level contains the household, the descent groups, and the informal territorial groupings or neighborhoods.

[621] [184] The main justification for this division of the material is that the macro-structure of the two communities is extremely similar, and there will be very few axes of contrasting comparisons to be found at this level, while the micro-structure is the level at which the most important differences between the two communities discussed in this paper are found.

A second justification is that the definition of roles at one level is separated from the definition of roles at the other level.

128 571 The roles at the macro-structure level are role dyads which include, on the one hand, the individual in the role of a community member, and on the other, any person representing the community at large. The roles at the micro-structure level are

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
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621 623 794 561 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento and Mayordomías form a hierarchical age-grade system, with a partially compulsory sequence of cargos (literally burdens, although it can best be translated as offices) which end in the cargo of Principal, who is a member of the community council of elders.

561 The age-grade system does not have corporate groups of the age-set type common in East Africa. The system only places the individual in relation to others who are higher or lower than him in the hierarchy. People belonging to the same level of the hierarchy do not act as a group, nor do they develop special relations with each other.

•184 621 794 The name and number of officerships differ everywhere in the Chiapas highlands from village to village. Larger towns have a larger number of governmental posts within the hierarchy; in some towns the Church organization is more elaborate (perhaps because it was originally a curato head town, or had a convento in the village), the Mayordomías and Cofradías (religious brotherhoods which carry on some fiesta celebrations) have a larger membership, a more elaborate ritual and carry on a larger number of fiestas, while in other villages the Mayordomías have a secondary role with respect to the civil government. This is not the place to discuss the historical and functional reasons for this extensive variation, which would take a study in its own right, but the important thing is that although the form varies, the basic system of hierarchically graded officerships stays the same in all the Chiapas highlands, including Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Zabala, 1961 and Figs. 2 and 3).

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
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621 Moreover, he can more easily [54]
624 fulfill these requisites if he had been able in his lifetime to
554 become the jural head of a large and united extended family, be-
596 cause, given the fact that he should be able to control the opinions and actions of many villagers, it is his personal power with other individuals which supports his position as principal, and not the reverse.

621 Town officials, although they are selected by the previous
[623] officers and approved by the principales, have to be ratified in their positions by all the household heads in a public meeting. The different qualifications of some men for the higher posts creates some disparity in the number of cargos held by a particular individual, but the differences are never enough to say that political power is differentially distributed. The following table and figure show the distribution of officerships by age group, in a random sample of married men in Aguacatenango, and it confirms the idea that the villagers themselves have about their access to political officership: any normal, married man with more than one child is capable of achieving, in a hierarchical order, several political posts.[1]

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[184] [1]This system is in contrast with other villages in the area. In the very large communities with parsie type settlements (a nucleated village which functions as a ceremonial and political center surrounded by dispersed hamlets) such as Tenejapa or Zinacantan, although the number of offices is tremendously increased, the population is so large that only a few men from each parsie pass the cargos, and the ideal of every man participating in the hierarchy of power is never attained. In those cases, only the richer obtain office, and the "democratic" aspects of the system are less noticeable. It could be that an egalitarian political organization can only be maintained when the population size is limited, and that a large social group with a centralized organization "needs" differential power distribution, or, rather, cannot avoid the differential distribution of political power among the population groups.

462 distribute their work so that while one takes care of the regular
323 home tasks: cooking, caring for the young, cleaning, etc., the
438 other can occupy herself in gathering clay, coiling or modeling. Most steps in the production of pots are arranged in an "assembly line" style, with the women distributing their individual work according to the needs of the stage of the productive activity. Some of these steps, such as firing, require their close and alert
[434] cooperation to be carried on successfully. Pottery production represents about half of the income of each independent household, with some slight variation, because households richer in land produce less pots than poorer ones.

Comparison

433 Pottery production in the hands of the women shapes the
184 economic landscape of Amatenango very differently than the one of
241 Aguacatenango. In the first place, agriculture is a business where
433 the risks are high and the profits unstable. The agricultural production of the villages depends on many uncontrollable factors. Too little rain or too much, too early rain or too late, worm pests or wild animals, can ruin the year's crop. The villagers try to insure the risks of a bad year by planting in as many different types of fields as they can. They plant in the hot country where the crops mature fast, and in the high, cold country where the maturation process is slow but the corn, of a hardier variety, is more resistant to weather conditions. They plant irrigated land to insure water if rain is missing, and in temporal to insure against the drying up of the sources of irrigated water. But even

241 then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable
433 year of plenty or a lean year.

184 In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income
323 of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery.
241 This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens
433 the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase
434 in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas.
184 The result of having an alternative form of income within the
166 homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more
464 balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a
731 reputation of being richer than the other communities.
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184 In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The
434 men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women
462 have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on
562 their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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434 This contrasting economic picture has many effects in the structuring of social relations because it places the women of the two villages in very different positions with respect to their male relatives, and at crucial points in the life of an individual, determines, to a large extent, his choice of alternative behavior.

It is important to make clear that I am not suggesting that economic factors are the determinant of all social life. The specialization of Amatenango in pottery making is not only an economic, but a social and historical phenomenon as well. The basic economic organization of the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is treated here as a given cultural factor. There is nothing in the ecology of Aguacatenango or Amatenango, or in the economic system itself, that "requires" that the women of the one village should be marginal producers while the women in the other are not.[1] This is a given fact. The factors that determined the present division of labor in the villages are not known to me, and I do not pretend that it is due to some primary economic cause.

128 But, if I take the division of labor and the economic structure of the village as given variables, then I can ask myself to what extent it is followed by adjustments in other cultural norms. It is here where my problem lies.

I am going to attempt to describe, in the rest of this work, how, and under what circumstances, certain social choices which have become normative are related to the economic life of

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[1] Some of the clay deposits are located in Aguacatenango territory. But, Aguacatecos do not exploit them.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

601 In Aguacatenango, where the distinction between collaterals and lineals is implicit in the terminology, non-kinsmen are usually addressed by the collateral terms, thus indicating distance between lineal relatives and others.

The terminological system is so widely applied that there is no possibility of separating the range of kinsmen from non-kinsmen by observing only terminological usages. The only way to make the distinction is: (1) to observe the particular behavior of Ego towards others; (2) to ask each particular Ego whom, among those which he addresses with kin terms, he considers genealogically connected with him. This any Ego is able to do. So therefore, although the terminology used suggests that kinship is not the main differentiation, in terms of other behavior the distinction is clearly specified.

The use of affinal terms is presently restricted to parents and children-in-law, and the others are merged with the consanguineal terms. Even then, if the relationship between in-laws is affectionate and they live in the same household or in close proximity, they address each other with the consanguineal terms.

• 184 601 Although the terminology in the two villages is practically identical, the Amatenango kinship usages suggest a more emphatic bilateral-generation systematization of kinship terms for both kin and non-kin. I can suggest that the relationships established in the household (core of the kin group) in Amatenango, are consistent with more emphasis in bilaterality, while in Aguacatenango, where the basic kinship relations of the individual are lineal

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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184 60 ones, the terminology consistently emphasizes the distinction between direct and collateral relatives. In that sense, and only in that sense, the terminology usage reflects the consistency between the linguistic realm and the non-linguistic behavior realms, a consistency which has been assumed by many anthropologists to be axiomatic.

561 562 The Ordering of Social Relations

In both communities relative age and sex are important in the structuring of social relations within the household and throughout the community. The exact chronological age of an individual is often unknown, but his relative age, with respect to siblings, cousins, relatives and other people who live close by, is always known. Any two individuals can always place each other in terms of seniority or order of birth.

561 Children are classified as those who are still at the mother's breast and cannot walk (husul 'it), small walking children (kosh kerem), pre-adolescents (hc' iel), and adolescents of marriageable age (tek' el). Married men are distinguished by whether they have children, by whether they have or do not have an independent household, and by the number of cargos they have passed in the government. Mature men are classified as still being active in the civil-religious hierarchy or as being pasados. Pasados are separated into those who are just old (mamal) and those who are principales.

858 Little babies and small children are not always counted as part of the household because they die so easily. They can have their souls "stolen" by other children who are still in their

883 562 573 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 885 851 601 621 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower post in the government (policía). The government itself is an

621 561 601 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by officers in lower and higher posts.

562 593 621 794 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 562 592 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women in the domestic group.

184 562 462 592 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the household. He controls the land which the men of the household work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

184 560 566 462 592 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he 592 593 562 can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 593 562 [606] The eldest woman in the household has authority over the younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-law, because during the period in which a married man resides with his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct [251] authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger women in the homestead.

592 593 434 562 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home. They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.

59 562 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers, and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

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her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

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But even under the best conditions, the position of a woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not

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asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, running away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or breaking up the marriage.

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In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation is quite different. First, women are economically independent, being able to make a living without a male in the household. Second, they control the profits made by the household from the sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the house in which they live with their husband and children. They contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the whole domestic group while they were living in their family's home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle, a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women and their male siblings.

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Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

184 "Women do not tolerate
593 beating by their husbands, and they frequently seek justice in
692 the local court if this occurs" (Nash, J., 1960:34).

184 In sum, Aguacatenango women have a dependent role all of
562 their lives, while Amatenango women enjoy a freer and more autonomous life. The people of Aguacatenango say that la mujer se debe a su marido y sus criaturas (a woman is indebted, or bound to obey, her husband and her children), while in Amatenango people believe that women are la fuerza en la casa (the authority or power in the home) (Nash, J., 1960:29). This set of contrasting statements sums up, from their own point of view, the different conceptions of the woman's role and position in the domestic group.

184 The second difference between Amatenango and Aguacatenango
592 is the criteria employed in both places for the recruitment of household personnel. Membership in a household implies both (1) a kinship connection with a sponsor who lives in the unit, and (2) economic interdependency.

Membership in a household changes for the individual at crucial times in his life, and changes in age and marital status give a person the right to attach himself or herself to a particular domestic group. An analysis of residence patterns of the two villages shows how, during the developmental cycle of the household, it changes membership and how particular individuals, according to their age, sex, marital status, kinship connection and economic role, are recruited into the unit.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VI

THE HOUSEHOLD

Definition

184 591 The life of the people of Amatenango and Aguacatenango can be seen as extending in overlapping circles which have a social as well as spatial dimension.

592 The most important of these circles is the domestic group. The domestic group, or independent household, is the basic unit of the social organization, and is the core of the economic, political, and moral life of the villager.

The households are economically independent units, the basic unit that controls production and consumption for the village, and therefore, the primary unit for the recruitment of labor. It is within the household that young community members are socialized. It is the place where adults find the primary focus of social activity and interaction, their most enduring and important emotional ties, and the center of their cultural values. As a child, a person learns work from the other people of the same sex who live in his domestic unit. As an adult, he shares with them his labor, his wealth, his worries and his moments of pleasure. In a sense, all that is important for the individual in his lifetime is centered in his household. There, most of his

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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	Number - Per Cent
Walls made of mud	93-77
wood planks (tejamanil)	11-9
palm	9-7
mud and wood	3-2.5
cane and palm	1-1.1
cane	2-2.3
mud and palm	1-1.1

Steam bath--20.

Of 121 buildings, 25 were painted white.

Building with corridor	65-80
Building without corridor	16-20
Kitchen with corridor	7-23
Kitchen without corridor	24-77

Households with more than two buildings distributed as follows: 15-22

unfinished new houses	4
granaries	6
saint's houses	2
storage room for pots	1
bedroom	1
empty	1

Roofs made of material other than palm (tile)--4

Pig pens--in all houses in sample

Chicken coops--46

Forty-five per cent of households have the kitchen built separate from the main building

Fig. 12.--House types in Aguacatenango

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

TABLE 5

HOUSE TYPES IN AMATENANGO[a]

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Type	Cases	Per Cent
Roof		
Tile	1	1
Shingle	28	24
Thatch	87	75
Wall		
Wattle-and-daub	97	84
Rough Boards	19	16

[a]After Nash, J.: 1959.

342 Houses are a part of the family. They are considered as being alive (they grow old, just as people do) and watching the behavior of humans, toward whom they are somewhat unfriendly. If they are displeased with the behavior of the inhabitants, they can bring nightmares to the adults, death to the children and other misfortunes. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1960) has suggested that houses are ideologically connected with the earth, whom one has to please if crops are going to grow steadily, and to the monte (forested hills), where the wood for its construction is gathered. [NR] Thus, because the monte is the residence of the evil spirits, enemies of mankind. the house is a projection of this malevolent world.

342 753 571 578 Even more significant is the house ritual connected with the sickness of a person who lives in it. It is significant

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764 People are buried in the cemetery according to the place in which they resided in life. The burial grounds are a small spatial replica of the town itself, the clusters of tombs representing clusters of households of the living.

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184 The agricultural ritual, which in other villages in Chiapas is performed by specialists (rain makers, principales and cabildos de milpa), is in both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, a household affair. It consists of a small ceremony performed in the milpa at planting and harvesting time by the men who have worked the land together, and consists of the lighting of candles and the burning of incense.

592 The household is the stage where the drama of an individual's life is performed, and therefore where a person lives is very crucial.

Household Membership

The placement of a person in a particular homestead is determined by two factors: (1) the domestic unit is composed of a kinship group and (2) it is the basic unit of production, and of the recruitment of labor. Thus, each individual is placed in a particular household both as a kinsman and as a producer. The two factors are not seen as separate by the villager. The role of a person as a kinsman and the role of a person as a producer are intimately related, but one can express a choice as belonging to the kinship and economic domains, simultaneously, or as belonging alternately to one or the other.

In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, there are two types of households which represent different stages in the development of

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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592 independent domestic groups: nuclear and compound households. The nuclear household is composed of a nuclear family: a man, his wife and their unmarried children. The compound household is made up of two or more nuclear families, or one nuclear family and the remnants of other nuclear households.

184 592 The characteristic type of residential unit in both communities is the nuclear household because it is the most frequent residential arrangement in terms of total frequencies (70 per cent in Aguacatenango and 72 per cent in Amatenango; the difference in percentage between the two communities is not statistically significant).

121 591 The Method for the Analysis of Residence

Murdock's book, Social Structure (1949), opened a new road for students interested in the problem of residence taxonomy because, although it was an outstanding contribution to the field, the work obviously suffered from the ambiguity of the residence data presented in the anthropological reports on which it was based. The classification of residence types, as utilized in the past, was shown to be defective for the purposes of modern research. The terminology of the field was too all-embracing, ambiguous in meaning, and diffuse in application. Murdock himself was well aware of this problem, and suggested a preliminary revision of the terminology (Murdock, 1949:16-18), but the subject of residence types came under suspicion.

As a result of the controversies aroused by the subject, Murdock (1955) wrote an article wherein he pointed out the

591 the head of the household, it is likely that the younger couple
592 will move to another house after the temporary service period. If a couple has a married daughter or son living in the house, they will not insist, when a second child marries, that the first couple remain in the unit. Apparently, the most efficient work group is a dyad, both for agricultural work and pottery making (see below). The last child whether male or female will stay in the home and inherit it after the parents' death. It is unlike Aguacatenango where the rule is that only a male child inherits the house.

591 The choice of which parents' household should be the residence of a new couple requires a separate decision for each particular case. The factors that determine the choice are (1) the economic condition of the parents of each spouse; (2) the presence or absence of other children in each spouse's family of orientation; and (3) the age of the couple.

"A new couple will take up residence quarters with the parents who are economically better off, with more land and cattle" (Nash, J., 1960:45). The second factor is related to the fact that if a couple has married children living in the house who can help with the agricultural work and the making of pottery, they are not as anxious to keep their other children as members of the household labor force. The third factor is a personal, rather than a standard, choice, because if a bride is very young at the time of marriage, "her mother may prevail upon the couple to stay in her home until later, even if the boy is working with his father and is to inherit his homestead" (Nash, J., 1960:45).

423 593 [432] [184] The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money is constantly needed. [582] [198] Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. [114] (See Frans Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[161] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

361 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village
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434 live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

Residence of Widows

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589 Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and
591 Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in
589 which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged
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[423] to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguaca-
[768] tenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household to be able to support herself and the children because she is able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her
592 own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic
562 independence is that many of them are the heads of their own
434 households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25
184 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguacatenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no households without men, nor households in which a female is the absolute head of the unit.

The Marriage Transactions and the Household

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584 In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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583 which are exchanged between future parents-in-law, the bride-
584 price or bocado is paid. The bocado is fixed: 300 pesos in goods.

582 Parents try to marry off their daughters within their own
184 economic level to provide a similar standard of living for them.
434 They will strongly refuse to give them to a poorer household if they are not very poor themselves. If the household is very poor, the first solution is to marry off the daughters, since they are consumers who do not contribute to the household income. If a poor household cannot find a husband for a daughter within the village, they will even give her to an outsider, for example, to a man from La Palizada. This is viewed as an unfortunate, but inevitable, choice. La Palizada is a settlement in the high, cold
[595] country. It is very poor. A woman marrying into it is viewed with pity because La Palizada men are polygamous and their wives work in the cornfields with them. Of two cases of marriages with La Palizada which we know about (one in the past and another that is contemporary), the only reason given for the marriage was the poverty of the households.

582 If a young man in town insists on marrying the daughter of a couple richer than his own household, they will refuse because
583 "the girl is not used to the hardships." If the girl decides on her own that she likes the man, the usual procedure is elopement at night to the boy's house. In this case, a poor man can get a richer bride without the bride-price, but he does not get any of the economic advantages shared by her family. The girl is cut-off from any social interaction with her family of orientation. Later, if the marriage proves stable, the young deviant couple can attempt

121 previous pages. Homans points out that this ambiguity is neither
593 accidental, nor "natural," but "tends to reappear in societies all over the world in which the family is an important productive unit and the father is the boss" (Homans, 1950:245).

593 The relation son-mother, however, ought to be different
[184] in the two communities. In Aguacatenango, a mother has less and less authority over a son the older he grows. While a man is a child, she controls him without discussion, but as he becomes more and more mature, his role as a man, a superior, makes for conflicting social power. On the one hand the mother is older, and therefore has more authority. Yet on the other hand, she is a female, and therefore the son (a male) has more authority. The balancing of authority between the two cancels it out. A son can, if he wishes, completely alienate himself from his mother. She has not much power to punish or sanction him, no property she can withdraw from him. If he misbehaves, she can only try to advise him or complain to her husband. On the other hand, the absence of authority between the two makes the relationship highly affectionate. If a son stays at home or close-by after marriage, the interaction mother-son is frequent and friendly. In many cases the mother will make a coalition with the son against her husband, defending the younger man. Mothers tend to be very partial towards the judgement of their sons' behavior, and sons obtain what they want from the fathers through their mothers.

In Amatenango, the mother has more economic power over the
[434] son. She can give him cash for extra needs, and he can inherit
[428] land or a house from her, as well as from his father.

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128 593 One would expect, then, that the affective distance between mother and son in Amatenango would be larger. It is unfortunate that this hypothesis cannot be tested at the moment. This author does not have available the relevant information to make the comparison reliable.

593 184 There is evidence, nonetheless, that the sibling bond is different.

In Aguacatenango, the important sibling bond after marriage is only between the siblings who have cooperative tasks to carry out in common: brothers. The relationships of brothers with [607] sisters is respectful and distant, and brothers-in-law are not equated, in behavioral terms, with brothers. Sisters, after marriage, have little chance to see each other, except at fiestas, and they become quite alien to each other.

In Amatenango, on the contrary, the sibling bond is multilateral. Sisters and sisters collaborate with each other, brothers with brothers, and siblings of different sex also do so. Moreover, [607] siblings-in-law are equated with siblings, and they form a complex generational set of group relations.

606 184 A final difference in the affective content of role relations within the domestic group is the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law relations.

606 593 184 In Aguacatenango, there is a striking contrast between the relation mother-daughter and the relation daughter-in-law-mother-in-law. We have discussed extensively how antagonistic and asymmetrical it is. Although the mother has authority over the daughter, she plays (has played) a nurturant role for her, which

606 a mother-in-law does not. The affective ties which develop with
184 the nurturant figure are extremely durable, even though they
[593] seldom see each other after the daughter marries.

[868] In Amatenango, perhaps because of early marriages which increase the nurturant aspect of the mother-in-law role (she certainly takes part in the socialization of the daughter-in-law by teaching her how to make pottery), and because of the establishment of a relationship before the younger woman had many chances to establish adult affective ties with any woman other than her own mother, the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond is less tense. The women create a strong solidarity bond in their active cooperation in pottery making, and their association is both intense and constant. The result is that "a successful relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is not an authoritarian one, but is rather characterized by mutual cooperation" (Nash, J., 1960: 29, 62-67). We can also observe that the residence pattern grants, in Aguacatenango, unconditional power to the mother-in-law, while in Amatenango, where a woman after marriage can reside with her own parents if she dislikes her in-laws, a mother-in-law is made to be more careful about her own behavior towards the younger woman. If she is too harsh, she can find herself with no female help in the house, and losing a son at the same time, which means that the household loses two laborers.

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178 lineage (which exists today in many other communities such as
754 Oxchuc), has disappeared. Without the basic belief in the super-
776 natural controlling powers of the lineage heads, the ritual ac-
613 tivities performed by the lineage as a corporation became mean-
ingless, and fell out of use.

592 Finally, from an economic point of view, the large patriline
613 household-compound, as a productive unit, is unfunctional, and the
434 characteristic form of the domestic group is now the nuclear house-
421 hold, which also contributes to the weakening of patriline strength.
578 Within the nuclear household, it is difficult for its members to
discriminate between the part of the household income that is de-
rived from the household head in his capacity as a worker and that
which is from his unmarried sons; between those profits which are
derived from the household head as a capitalist who has provided
tools and implements, and finally those which come from his ca-
pacity as "owner" of land. In a larger household, differences
in labor in-put, rivalry between the women about the food con-
trolled by themselves and belonging to their husbands, or between
the men about the property rights of the produce derived from their
common effort, tend to create conflict and disunity. In the
592 nuclear household, the division of labor is explicit, the role ex-
594 actly and minimally distributed, and conflict, in the case of its
578 occurrence, is likely to be more quickly solved because the fis-
sion of the nuclear domestic group is equivalent to the disap-
pearance of the household itself.

178 The functions before performed by the lineage are now
613 performed by the household, the community, or by the neighborhood
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group, composed in Amatenango of bilateral relatives, and in Aguacatenango, mainly of agnatic kinsmen, but also including some affinals and non-related people, because contiguous household-to-household localization is an ideal not always realized (we have discussed previously how in some few cases a son lives in a house given to him by his father, but one block distant from his father's own compound).

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The result of this complex set of variables is that the lineage has lost, in Aguacatenango, some of its characteristic functions. The Amatenango case, to extend the example, shows how, even when (1) patri-virilocality disappears (as a consequence of the women participating actively in the economy), and (2) the status of the sexes with regard to inheritance and rights over property becomes equal, the lineage disappears leaving only small traces of its previous presence: name groups without meaning or function.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects of the economic system play a very important part in the structuring of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

(2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

184 vis-a-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
591 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
562 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
434 marginal property.
[428]
[421]

184 (3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
182 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
462 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
434 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
591 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, households that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.
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184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
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8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 476 593 (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 591 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the [613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 593 578 59 613 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few collaterals.

184 361 592 476 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each village follows the social propinquity established in terms of economic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango residence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 59 428 562 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958: 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bilateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of ultrolateral ultimogeniture..

The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.

1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as often as males.

2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women, while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as married women do, under certain conditions.

3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is preferred to neolocality, usually a kinsman from whom certain economic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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184 591 602 4. In both villages, among consanguineal sponsors, lineal relatives who have immediate economic duties are preferred as sponsors over collaterals.

5. In Aguacatenango, among consanguineal sponsors, agnatically linked relatives are preferred over non-agnatic relatives, while in Amatenango, any consanguineal relative, a matri- or patrilineal one, is an equally likely choice.

184 591 561 6. In both villages, economic dependency is usually assigned within the parental and the children's generation, rather than within the same generation, the result being that residence sponsors are preferred to be from alternate rather than the same generation, and within the same generation, sponsors are selected in terms of seniority over Ego.

184 591 562 434 7. In both villages, spouses reside together. In Aguacatenango, the residence sponsor is the husband, while in Amatenango, either husband or wife can be sponsors. Males are the only sponsors when they are the only household members responsible for the support of the unit. Women and men are sponsors where both share the economic burden of supporting the household. Women are sponsors when they are the only ones responsible for the economic demands of the domestic group, and when their husbands work with their fathers.

184 591 586 602 8. Unmarried children reside with both parents, and work with the parent of the same sex. If the parents are separated when the children are small, they stay with the mother. In Aguacatenango, if the mother is dead, a patrilineal sponsor other than

the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

184 621 591 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born, or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 591 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for 121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing 128 602 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

128 602 591 562 561 571 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 591 592 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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184 Amatenango both men and women derive their rights to reside in
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592 particular homesteads through both marriage or birth, as alternate
choices.

592 The economic system in itself is not an independent vari-
591 able. Given its present shape, decisions about where to live,
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181 changes in the composition of the domestic group at crucial points
602 in its development, and the strength of emotional ties between individuals are influenced by it. Most choices which concern the structuring of internal relations within the domestic unit are expressed by the cultural carriers as economic and kinship choices simultaneously, or in other words, as economic choices made within the framework offered by the kinship structure of the domestic unit.

Other factors, however, seem to perform no less important functions. Among these other factors, we have mentioned the following in separate parts of the previous text: (1) the position of the person within the kinship group which forms the core of the household; (2) the number of men and women residing in the unit; (3) the age of the household membership; (4) the temperament and attitudes of the household members with respect to each other; (5) the aspirations of the individual, in terms of the achievement of status, the insurance of positive affection and the need for psychological rewards; and (6) the laws of group interaction.

571 In order of intensity, the economic domain affects (1) the
592 individual's status within the family; (2) the membership and
621 organization of the domestic group, both in terms of residence choices and the distribution of authority within the unit; (3) the

571 592 621 developmental cycle of the domestic group; (4) the relations of households within a neighborhood and within the more inclusive kinship groups; (5) the relative strength of the patriline versus the bilateral group; (6) the functions of the larger territorial endogamous divisions or barrios; and (7) the total community.

[184] Except for the importance of barrio land tenure in Aguacatenango, and general higher wealth of Amatenango as a whole, the system of production does not seem to affect the structuring of relationships at a level higher than the household and the particular type of rights and duties of members of the extended family of each village.

184 562 The position of women for the village at large is very similar in the two communities. Except for the fact that Amatenango women have the economic power and the legal right to take cases to the Ayuntamiento on their own, neither the women of Aguacatenango nor of Amatenango has rights to political officership, nor to roles outside the domestic domain, which, once more, confirms the anthropological truth that whatever the descent system, or the economic organization, jural authority is ultimately vested in the hands of the males of a society.

182 571 602 Economic factors are not the only factors affecting the interpersonal relations of the villagers. The economic structure is a given historical and cultural fact. Many choices of behavior, which are economic choices in their immediate context, are not so in terms of the long range view of the system. First, the kinship system seems to limit the range of economic alternatives for the individual, independently of the fact that choices

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

184 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can show many structural diversities which originate from delicate adjustments to internal pressures, even in the case in which, apparently, the variation seems to be the result of influences coming from the external system.

794 754 [177] One example, perhaps, summarizes, by its simplicity, the core of this problem. The post of Alferez, as it functions in the highlands of Chiapas, is an institution that tends to disappear in the more acculturated towns (i.e., those villages more affected by the external system). Although it is a religious post, it does not form part of the Ayuntamiento or Cofradias organization, nor is it part of the hierarchical ladder. A person can become an Alferez independently of his previous service in the government, as long as he can afford the burden financially or "expenses" of the fiesta for which he is selected. "However, in undertaking the post, he is subject to witchcraft exercised by neighbors envious of the wealth he displays in fulfilling his obligation" (Nash, J., 1960:94). Nash reports three informants who considered themselves bewitched as a result of having been 178 794 754 Alfereces in Amatenango. In Aguacatenango, the post has not been occupied for the last twenty-five years. People refuse to take the position on the grounds that they cannot afford it, and refuse to "help the pueblo" for fear of witchcraft. One can see that the same internal pressure, the pressure for economic homogeneity, has resulted in the same supernatural rationalization: fear of witchcraft. One of the villages has arrived at the point where the conflict eradicated itself through the disappearance of the post which originates it, while in the other town, Amatenango,

000 true for more than the specific case studied by them, and it only discusses one set of domains of the family: socialization and its concomitant psychological variables.

It well could be that some societies seem to emphasize structural arrangements in one domain over the others. The more difficult it is for a society to procure the basic biological needs for food, the more the economic domain can be a primary determinant of organization. The more complex a descent system and the more functions it performs in the political and ritual domains (such as the Hopi), the more kinship would tend to be emphasized by the structural arrangements as viewed by the natives themselves. That does not mean that the anthropologists cannot and should not be able to see the concomitant effects of the other domains. A study of any social group has to be, if it is going to contribute anything to our knowledge of human activity and motivations, a multi-variable analysis. A neat analysis based on a single focus of observation may well be an elegant piece of research, and simultaneously, a biased account of human life.

128 •184 I think that my study of two Chiapas villages contributes somewhat to the clarification of several problems which were set forth in the Introduction. (1) It shows, I think conclusively, that social variations in Middle American Indian communities are not only the result of acculturation, but also the result of the delicate internal adjustments of their institutions. (2) It shows 128 591 571 602 that residence is a system of social coalitions to express both kinship and economic interdependency. From the point of view of any one individual and from the point of view of a small group,